

CONTENTS

No 34	SUMMER	1942	
			Page
Fabian Research: Quarterly Report	- - -		I
The Socialist Movement in Canada	- - -		4
Towards Maturity	- - - - -		11
Agriculture in the Post-War European Settlement	II		16
What's Wrong with the Civil Service	- - -		25
Local Government (Book Review)	- - -		32
Notes on Books	- - - - -		35

CONTENTS

Page

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

FABIAN RESEARCH

Quarterly Report

LAMENT FOR AN EDITOR

The *Fabian Quarterly* laments the transfer of its editor, Mr H. D. Hughes, to the Army. He successfully developed the *Quarterly's* prestige and influence. Mrs Joan Clarke, the Research Secretary, has now become editor.

HOME POLICY

Intensive study and discussion of *the social services* is now culminating in the clarification of the basic principles which should underlie social policy in 'the new society'. Based on these principles a plan for the reconstruction of the social services has now been formulated. By the time this *Quarterly* is published our evidence will have been presented to Sir William Beveridge's *Interdepartmental Committee on the Social Insurances and Allied Services* in a document discussing with considerable force both the principles of Social Security and their implementation in this country. Reconstruction of the Social Services is generally admitted to be necessary. This by itself is not enough. The Social Services must be the logical instruments of a sound social policy linked with constructive economic and health policies. Our forthcoming book on *Social Security* will expand and elaborate the ideas set forth in the evidence to the Interdepartmental Committee; these will also be fully discussed in the weekend conference on Social Security being held at Oxford on July 18th.

Our social security work will not be completed when the book is published. Only one stage is completed—the formulation and expression of policy; the next stage is the widest possible promulgation of this policy, leading up to the final stage of its embodiment in legislation. The Fabian Society is both a research and a political body; when the research has clarified policy we must work to get it implemented. Particularly we need to stress the constructive functions of the social services. Cash payments must be inter-related with positive placement, health and rehabilitation services aimed at restoring the individual to his role as a productive citizen in a democratic community. Emphasis on cash means and needs must be changed to emphasis on service—the service of the state to the individual in cash maintenance as of right during specified contingencies and the provision of full resources to restore him

to work and health, and the service of the individual back to the state in cooperating in his rehabilitation.

The coal crisis is mounting as we write. A factual document prepared by the Research Department shows urgent need for the speedy introduction of rationing coupled with public ownership of the mines and the rationalisation of production and distribution. Our pamphlet on *Coal Distribution* is being hurried forward, and we are pressing for immediate action on the whole Coal Front. The problem is not solved by governmental compromise.

COLONIAL BUREAU

The Bureau continues to be very active in its work of research and publicity. The major research now on hand is on the co-operative movement in the colonies. An excellent committee has been set up, under the Chairmanship of Lord Winster, and with the friendly collaboration of the International Cooperative Alliance, the Horace Plunkett Foundation and the Cooperative Union, which is studying the structure of the movement throughout the colonial empire, and hopes to be able to present concrete recommendations. Reference has been made to this work in the presidential address to this year's Cooperative Congress, the president being a member of the Bureau's committee.

The Bureau recently made a brief study of nutrition problems in the colonies, and put forward suggestions and queries to the Colonial Office. Representatives of the Bureau were thereupon invited to a discussion with Colonial Office representatives, where a number of the points raised were considered. The Bureau has also addressed a memorandum to the Labour Party Executive suggesting amendments to the imperial section of the Party's annual report.

Since the fall of Malaya, the Bureau has been strongly advocating the necessity for a Colonial Charter, and for the increased military participation of colonial peoples in the war, under their own leaders. These ideas were at first not received too sympathetically, but they have gradually won attention in the press, and were at length discussed in a full debate in the House of Lords on May 20, introduced by Lord Listowel. The debate has held out promise of an increasingly friendly official attitude to this policy. The conscription of Africans for forced labour in Kenya has also been studied, and vigorously opposed. The adjournment of the House was moved on this subject by Mr Creech Jones, and the measure was again attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Winster.

A conference on 'Empire Collapse? A Critique of Colonial

Administration' was held in March, and was well attended. The growth of public interest in colonial affairs is very noticeable. It has been aroused during the last few months by events in the Far East ; but the Bureau hopes, modestly, that its own efforts have also borne some fruit.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU

Membership of the Bureau has now passed the 250 mark. From January to April a Group has been meeting to discuss the future of Central and Eastern Europe. It has succeeded in reaching agreement on certain main issues of policy, on internal politics and international relations. An agreed Statement has been signed by the members of the Group and this has been sent to all members of the Labour Party's International Reconstruction Sub-Committees and to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The popular pamphlet *How the Russians Live* has now been published and appears to have filled a real need. There is a dearth of reliable and informative literature on American Labour, a subject of vital importance if understanding and collaboration between the British and American working classes are to grow and if the representatives of these two movements are going to be able to speak with one voice in reconstruction councils, both during the war and after. The Anglo-American Group will shortly have before it a research pamphlet on this subject covering the early history and growth of the American Trade Union Movement ; its present attitude towards the war ; its relation to politics and the importance of future cooperation between American and British Labour. The same material will be used in a different form as a basis for a set of Speakers' Notes on the same subject.

Four sets of Speakers' Notes on Russia were contemplated, but on consideration of the first set on 'The Home Front in the U S S R' it was felt that the material was so interesting and important that it should be used for a pamphlet rather than made available in the form of Speakers' Notes. By the time this report is published, Speakers' Notes should be available on American Labour, the Soviet Trade Unions and Germany.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Kenneth C. Rathbone

1. THE CANADIAN POLITICAL SCENE

The Dominion of Canada, a somewhat limited democracy, is in constitution and fact not quite so democratic from a progressive and socialist point of view as Great Britain. The constitution of the Dominion of Canada was originally established by the British North America Act of 1867. The federal constitution of the Dominion now consists of a Governor-General, a Senate, and a House of Commons.

In the House of Commons sit 245 members elected on a constituency basis as in Great Britain; the Senate, or upper chamber, consists of 96 members nominated for life by the various governments of the day. These members are nominated for 'political and public services'. As no socialists have as yet been deemed worthy of such recognition, this chamber consequently remains the exclusive preserve of Liberals and Conservatives, and its powers and means of obstruction are wider and more undemocratic than the British House of Lords.

Each of the nine provinces has its own provincial administration in the form of an elected Legislative Assembly, to which the provincial Prime Ministers and their Cabinets are responsible.

CANADIAN POLITICS

In Canada, the Liberals and the Conservatives are still the predominant parties. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C C F) is the organisation in Canada corresponding with the British Labour Party. The Liberals and Conservatives of Canada are on the average far more reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-socialist than their counterparts in Great Britain. The Liberals are at the moment the ruling party, having majorities in the federal House of Commons and in seven of the nine provincial Legislative Assemblies. Both legislation and opinions of individual M P s tend to be more reactionary than in Great Britain. Social legislation, socialisation measures and state or municipal enterprises are a mere shadow in comparison with the social services and the numerous state and municipally owned undertakings in Great Britain.

A typical example of reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-socialist views can be seen in a recent utterance of the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, usually regarded as the Conservative Party leader in the Senate, when he said :

Mr Bevin says that universal socialism, with the rights that are the heritage of the common man, is to come all at once upon us. Privileges are to go at once and for ever, and the State is to take charge of the nation's affairs, in all departments.

Is that likely upon this earth ? Is that what we are battling for ? I think not. If this is the direction in which we move ; if property, profit, the reward of toil, the fundamental instinct of the human race to gain, to acquire, to have, to reach somewhere is taken away, then I, for one, do not feel that we have anything worth fighting for. Wherever socialism prevails today, the sword, the hangman, the axe prevail. That is not what Mr Bevin and Britain want.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM

There is much besides political Conservatism that makes the propagation and extension of socialist beliefs difficult in Canada. Much of the population is saturated with a stubborn, deep-rooted American individualism. They simply cannot, or will not, conceive or understand that there could possibly be an alternative to capitalism and private enterprise. They remain impervious to things around them and, despite poverty and depressions, they still regard unlimited private enterprise as the panacea for all ills. Quite a few appear to be still dreaming of the old pioneering days—now past and gone for ever—when fortunes were often easily made in unrestricted private enterprise and speculation. Most Canadians have no conception or understanding at all of what socialism really means or stands for ; nor do they display any desire to find out. Anyone known to hold socialistic beliefs, no matter how mild, is often thoughtlessly and contemptuously dismissed as a ‘ radical ’, or a ‘ red ’, and sometimes regarded as a queer or eccentric person. Socialism when thought of at all is often regarded as some obscure, difficult and horrible system of government existing in distant and peculiar foreign states. These prejudices and fancies are much more widely held and accepted in Canada than in Europe, or other parts of the British Commonwealth, and it certainly makes the propagation of socialism in Canada an exceedingly difficult and trying task. The Canadian people tend to regard politics as some sort of corrupt or dishonest game which is no concern of the ordinary people. The Canadian standard of political integrity is admittedly below that prevailing in Great Britain, doubtless because the average

Canadian takes less interest in political affairs than his British counterpart, and tends to leave politics completely to the 'politicians'.

The unfavourable attitude adopted by most of the Canadian newspapers towards socialism, and working class movements generally, is also another serious obstacle to the advancement of socialism. Practically every one of the reasonably well-known newspapers in the Dominion is hostile to both socialism and communism, and anything that appears to them to smell faintly of such creeds. Their general policy seems to be to freeze, or cut out, all reference to things or persons socialist, and to behave as though such did not exist. With a politically apathetic public as readers, this policy is undoubtedly successful in impeding the progress of socialism, and keeping it very much in the background out of sight of a reading public which generally does not see very far. When anything mentioning socialism or socialists is published then it is usually done in a brief, curt, or unfavourable manner.

GROWTH OF THE C C F

At various times in Canada, and especially in the period immediately following the First World War, attempts were made to form socialistic or working class organisations of various kinds. None of these had any durable success until in 1932 the organisation known as The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (generally referred to as the C C F) was founded. The aims and policies of this organisation are more or less identical with those of the British Labour Party. Since its foundation in 1932, the progress of the C C F has been steady, although not as substantial as all socialists would desire. In the federal House of Commons of 245 members, the C C F now (November 1941) has eight members elected as follows from the constituencies in the various provinces :

Province	Total number of constituencies in province	Number of C C F M P's returned
British Columbia	16	1
Saskatchewan	21	5
Manitoba	17	1
Nova Scotia	12	1
Ontario	82	—
Quebec	65	—
Alberta	17	—
New Brunswick	10	—
Prince Edward Island	4	—
Yukon Territory	1	—

In the provincial Legislative Assemblies the position in November 1941 is as follows :

Province	Total number of members in Assembly			Number of C C F members
British Columbia	48			14
Saskatchewan	51			12
Manitoba	53			3
Nova Scotia	38			3
Alberta	53			—
Ontario	90			—
Quebec	90			—
Prince Edward Island	30			—
New Brunswick	47			—

In Manitoba, the C C F gained seven seats in the 1937 provincial election, but suffered a decline to three seats in 1941. Towards the end of 1940 the C C F entered a coalition, or co-operative government, under the non-party Premier, Mr Bracken, the post of provincial Minister of Labour being offered to a C C F member. The decision to enter this coalition was by no means a unanimous one, and many C C F members had grave doubts as to the wisdom of the decision. The Manitoba C C F entered the coalition contrary to the advice of the C C F National Council, and the opinion of the National Convention, but as all C C F provincial organisations have full autonomy in matters of provincial policy, there has been no break with the national headquarters on the matter. Members favouring the coalition stressed the personal popularity and genuine good intentions of the Premier, and expressed the opinion that he would be able to bring some aid to stricken agriculture in the Province.

The opponents of this coalition or cooperation decision contended that capitalism and socialism were such contradictory and irreconcilable beliefs that any cooperation between the two was impossible. They pointed out that if the coalition did show any signs of success from the capitalist point of view, then the capitalist parties in other provinces would endeavour to set up coalitions in their respective provinces, with the object of staving off a completely C C F administration. If, on the other hand, the Manitoba coalition were to prove a failure, then anti-socialists throughout the Dominion would claim that the C C F policy had failed and had brought disaster upon Manitoba.

Despite the coalition, however, the party whips were all called off. Every member could speak or vote as he pleased, although the C C F members continued to act as a body. The C C F was

still able to advocate its own social legislation programme in the Assembly. The fact that the C C F lost four of their seven seats in the Assembly, in the 1941 Manitoba provincial election, appears, in the view of the coalition opponents, as a sign that the electorate did not approve of the coalition decision of the C C F.

The C C F seems to have made most progress in Western Canada, where it is much better received than in the eastern provinces. Several factors have contributed to the better progress of the C C F in the western farming provinces. They were the provinces of low wages and hardships which, of course, gave the people some incentive to explore new methods and policies, with a view to improving their condition. Many of the younger, modern and more progressive people are in the west; and many people from Britain have migrated to the western provinces, taking with them the socialist and progressive views they often held when in Britain.

The failure of the C C F to achieve any considerable progress in the eastern provinces is especially noticeable in the Province of Quebec, which has an overwhelming preponderance of French Canadians and Roman Catholics. Here, racial and religious questions tend to obscure the real issues. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in the province is of a most reactionary, anti-democratic character. From the latter part of 1936 till October 1939 the government of the province was in the hands of the clerical, semi-fascist, National Union Party, under the leadership of M. Duplessis. This Government was hostile towards all democratic, socialist, or trade union movements, and imposed the infamous 'padlock' law on many organisations. The effect of this was, of course, to restrict, or even to suppress entirely or drive underground, the activities of the organisations in question. The province now has a Liberal Government, and from a democratic point of view the position in Quebec has improved somewhat, but from a socialist point of view it is still very unsatisfactory indeed.

The C C F has as yet failed to make any substantial progress in the Maritime Provinces—New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. These provinces seem to be suffering from a decline in development and prosperity, and from depopulation caused by the younger people migrating westwards and leaving the elderly people behind. This may be some explanation for the C C F's failure to progress against the older and more established political parties.

In the central province of Ontario the C C F position is very unsatisfactory indeed. This seems rather remarkable in view of the fact that Ontario is a province which has been industrialised

to a large extent. Yet there are no C C F members for Ontario constituencies in either the federal Parliament or the provincial Legislative Assembly. In Toronto, the capital of the province, there does seem to be some awakening to the socialist cause, however, and one C C F member has been elected to the Toronto City Council. Possibly the C C F is backward in this industrial province because it has placed a little too much emphasis on agricultural policies. In reply to a question by the writer, a C C F member once stated that the organisation had been named Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, instead of Labour Party, because Canada was chiefly an agricultural country, and to gain election the C C F would have to secure the agricultural support and votes. It was thought that the title Labour Party often conveyed the inference that the main interests of the party were with industrial matters.

PARTY STRENGTH

Throughout the whole of Canada the C C F is at the moment fighting as a political society with a small membership, and not as a mass movement. It lacks the mass affiliation membership and finance of affiliated trade unions. In other words, the C C F is on much the same basis as the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain, prior to the trade union affiliations and the formation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900.

At present only one trade union is affiliated to the C C F. In August 1938, District 26 of the United Mine Workers of America, which covers the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, decided to engage in political action by means of affiliation to the C C F. Since this decision was reached, one C C F member has been elected to the federal House of Commons for a Nova Scotia constituency, and three C C F members to the Nova Scotia provincial Legislative Assembly. All these candidates were returned for constituencies in industrial and mining areas.

Unity of action between the C C F and the Canadian trade union movement is complicated because in Canada the trade union movement is not united in one federation or trades union congress. The movement is split into four groups—The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, The Canadian Congress of Labor, The National Catholic Labor Syndicates, and the C I O unions.

At present the C C F organisation has about 35,000 members out of a population of approximately 12,000,000. Thus 0.3% of the Canadian people are members of the C C F, which has only taken part in two federal elections—1935 and 1940. In 1935, they contested 118 seats out of a possible 245. In 1940, however,

they were only able to contest 95 seats, owing to the fact that the election had only been called on two months' notice, making it impossible to acquire sufficient funds and make the necessary arrangements in the central and eastern provinces, where the organisation was weak. Although there were 23 fewer candidates in the field the total CCF vote in 1940 was about the same as in 1935. The average vote per CCF candidate was increased by about 24%, and eight candidates were returned to the House of Commons.

There is reasonable ground for the belief that the CCF will continue to make progress, and the members of the organisation expect to improve their position in all respects in the period following the war. The recent successes in the British Columbia and Nova Scotia provincial elections offer good evidence of this progress.

The members of the CCF look with very great pleasure and admiration upon the activities and successes of the Labour Parties of New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain. The writer has been assured more than once that the activities and achievements of these parties and such men as Attlee, Morrison, Bevin, etc, since they entered the British Government, have caused many non-socialist Canadians to open their eyes a little, to think, and to wonder . . .

Even the Canadian newspapers now frequently find themselves obliged to mention British Labour leaders in their news columns, and this publicity is likely to assist and smooth the road for the CCF in Canada. The opinion has also been expressed to the writer that the future appearance of some of these men on properly arranged and publicised speaking tours in Canada would be very beneficial to the CCF. Care would obviously have to be taken, however, that Canadian reactionaries were not given the opportunity of making charges about interference in Canadian affairs by organisations outside Canada.

CCF members share the opinion of the writer that there is much of value and mutual benefit to be derived from the association and contact with each other of both the leaders, and, equally important, the rank and file themselves of the Labour Movements in the British Commonwealth. There seems to be some contact between the leaders, but the arrangements and facilities for contacts between the rank and file members themselves leave much to be desired. If the members of the Labour Movements of the British Commonwealth can really make friendships and get to know and understand one another now, then when Socialist Governments rule the nations of the British Commonwealth, mutual assistance and cooperation in the common cause will be all the easier.

TOWARDS MATURITY

Dr Edward F. Griffith

At a time when the world is full of chaos it is both natural and right that we should hope and plan for a future civilisation in which our energies can be directed towards human betterment and the abolition of evil and unshapely things.

QUALITY v. QUANTITY

For the past hundred years or so the world has thought in terms of quantity. Emphasis has been laid upon the number of people in the land ; the number of houses that could be crowded on to a single acre ; the number of machines that could be turned out in the shortest possible time, or the maximum amount of money that could be wrested from the earth by the sweat of our labour. The needs of the body predominated over those of the spirit. Economic security, financial combines, luxurious buildings and massive undertaking conspired together in a selfish and luxurious materialism that overshadowed spiritual values, honesty of purpose, happiness as opposed to pleasure, health and even life itself. The healthily balanced individual, mentally and physically mature, emotionally and spiritually alive, has not been appreciated or catered for. But times are changing. We are coming to recognise that instead of thinking in terms of quantity we must concentrate on quality—the quality of our work, food and clothing, our homes and children and even our personal way of life.

TOWARDS TOTAL HEALTH

Fundamental to all this is Health—mental and bodily health. Of what value to the community is a large population if it is unhealthy ? Of what value is life itself if it is unhealthy or unbalanced ? The importance of creating a healthy community is overwhelming. Without the basis of health the life of the community and everything in it is worthless. Our aim must be no less than the abolition of poverty, the provision of a good home, suitable food, secure employment and ample leisure for every man and woman in the country. Ill health should be regarded as a confession of failure. Every man, woman and child in the country

should have the right to be healthy, the will to be healthy and the knowledge of how to keep healthy. The health facilities of the country must be made available to all, irrespective of social or financial status. The amount of preventable ill-health in this country is enormous. It has been shown by the Peckham Health Centre that 66% of those investigated were unaware that anything was wrong, which means, of course, that large numbers of the population are suffering from conditions which could easily be remedied if only the medical profession were able to get at these people and treat them. In this way much 'ill-health' would be discovered and treated before it became chronic.

In order to build up health we must abolish fear; fear of illness, fear of the doctor and, in fact, any condition which tends to breed anxiety. Anxiety and fear are the bugbear of health. We must stop thinking of the doctor as the last resort in times of crisis and regard him as the preserver of health, as one who will view the individual as a whole rather than piece-meal. This means that the doctor will have to reconsider his own functions. He will have to play a larger part in public affairs and reorganise his duties so that he can spare more time for each case.

Much ill-health is due to bad economic conditions, long working hours, unsuitable work, dirty houses, badly cooked or chosen food, poor wages and so on. All the services concerned with these matters will need reorganisation, a task of such magnitude that it will not be brought about until a new spirit of service pervades our national life. As Alec Bourne says in his new book *Health of the Future (Penguin Special)*, we must teach people 'a way of life that can lead to contentment and health'. We shall have to embark upon a great educational campaign if the country is to become alive to these problems. Let us consider this aspect of the matter more fully.

TOTAL HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Man can no longer be regarded as a mere physical being; he is not just a beautifully constructed engine which will function automatically so long as he is supplied with adequate food, water and oxygen. On the contrary, he is a composite being containing mental, physical, emotional and spiritual factors that must all be expressed and developed in harmonious unison. Each of these factors influences and is itself affected by the state of health of the others. The total organism only functions 100% efficiently when all these factors are co-ordinated and used. More than this is involved, however. Life has a purpose which must be fulfilled before the individual can achieve health and happiness. Each

one of us is born to achieve ; to create and advance towards a life goal which is both personal and communal. The personal side cannot reach satisfaction and contentment until it is absorbed in the fuller life of the community.

If our attitude to physical health needs overhauling our attitude to our emotional well-being calls for still greater attention. The first essential for emotional health is a happy and contented home, free from tension and parental bickering. The child should grow up in an atmosphere of security. The home should provide an atmosphere of understanding in which free discussion can take place and the child can feel that his thoughts and ideas will receive sympathetic consideration. Only then will he respect his home, which should be the place in which he learns the rudiments of moral behaviour by the example and teaching of his parents. Here, too, with some additional help from the school, should the child learn how his body is made and how and why the wheels go round.

But the teaching of physiological and biological principles, however necessary (and it is a curious thing how even now people refrain from giving children this information) is not enough. Children are not just cogs in a machine ; they are intelligent beings who have the power to control and direct their own energies ; who can say Yes and No. But they must be guided along the right road. Their energies are derived from two main sources—the secretions of various bodily glands which have a profound influence on growth and development—and inborn instincts such as sex and self-preservation which arise in the depths of the mind. The two are closely related and the manner in which the individual uses and directs these ‘urges’ together with numerous environmental factors, forms his social behaviour. He can become self-seeking or socially conscious. Education has the power to influence his attitude towards society.

Standards of social behaviour have altered within the last fifty years, partly since women occupy an entirely different place in the social sphere to that of their grandmothers. Because behaviour is related to morality, that too has altered ; not merely sex morality with which the word is usually connected, but morality in general. Education in behaviour—if the negative teaching most of us received can be termed education—has, until quite recently, been largely repressive. It has not kept pace with changes in outlook and behaviour. Certain things are ‘done’ ; others are ‘not done’. Certain social customs are accepted and right ; others are wrong and therefore immoral.

THE TEACHER'S ROLE

The truth is that the emotional situation and its numerous complications and ramifications has never been squarely faced. But emotional education cannot be satisfactory so long as it is conducted on blind lines. In order to achieve results we must have a positive education directed towards the proper understanding and management of the emotions. If as I say, one of our deepest emotional drives is sex, another—closely related to it—is religion. The repressive educational system I have outlined has tended to antagonise these two rather than bring them together. Sex and religion have been at war to the detriment of both. The individual will never achieve full health or lead the full life or know real happiness until all the factors I have mentioned are drawn together in balanced harmony. It becomes imperative therefore that we concern ourselves with sex education. By this I do not mean mere instruction in physical facts. This, of course, is essential, but we must distinguish between sex instruction and sex education. Sex is related to the whole personality and its expression involves the whole personality.

Education in sex therefore must concern itself with physical facts, emotional and spiritual development, individual behaviour and service to the community. Happiness can only be achieved through unselfish service, either to another individual whom we love, or the State we live in. Being in love means being in that state of mind in which the individual is concerned with the welfare of the other person. Thus, starting from individualistic beginnings, the final expression of sex activity is the creation of children, and the establishment of the family unit has social implications which are of vital import to the whole community. Sex behaviour, by becoming related to citizenship in this manner, should receive adequate attention from the State in the form of a well thought out educational programme for the whole community. It is ridiculous to expect young people to conduct their lives properly if we give them no adequate guidance. They need help and are grateful when they get it provided it is given dispassionately, truthfully and without any sentimental beating about the bush.

The giving of such education is a specialist business. Not everyone is fitted for the purpose—be he parent, parson, doctor or teacher—without previous instruction and experience. The qualifications for such a job are wide but by no means impossible to attain. Indeed, it is essential that we set about creating a body of people who are so qualified. Ideally speaking, the teacher should have an aptitude for imparting knowledge, a wide knowledge of biological and psychological principles, should be unshockable and completely devoid of sex inhibitions himself. In addition

he must have a sound ethical outlook. Sex teaching, badly given, is worse than none at all.

To sum up, therefore, we may say that sex education should start young and be graded for different age groups. A happy and enlightened home atmosphere combined with intelligent co-operation from the schools should provide the essential biological and anatomical facts before the individual becomes emotionally conscious. About sixteen the youth (or girl) needs help in his emotional difficulties. He must learn their ultimate purpose and the manner in which they can be controlled and directed. The young adult needs help regarding his relationship to society as a whole; his responsibilities and duties as a citizen should be presented in relation to his personal development. As he grows he should receive help and instruction in the nature and purpose of marriage until finally, when he decides to take on that responsibility, he should regard it as perfectly natural to receive instruction and help in marriage preparation.

Much unhappiness and ill-health could be prevented if marriage preparation was received by everyone. I look forward to the time when no one will embark on a sexual venture without preliminary help and guidance. But before this is possible society must encourage planned marriages and parenthood. Children must become an economic asset rather than a burden. Motherhood must be welcomed and respected. Housing and education and medical services must be adjusted to meet the needs of the growing family. More specialised clinics must be provided. It is useless to clamour for a rising population until these matters are dealt with. And all through we must remember that our aim is quality; quality of race, behaviour, livelihood, children and health. All these must be of the highest order and sustained by the highest motives. Not until we concern ourselves with these matters can we expect to find a healthy, well-balanced nation. But the essence of the plan lies in a willingness to teach boldly and fearlessly that sex energy possesses potential power which is good and fine and creative; that its rightful expression provides for mental and spiritual well-being and for the harmonious working of the whole organism which, surely, is the aim of every one of us. Much of our present discord is due to misdirected sexual energy. Much that is sadistic and cruel and ugly in our national life and in the lives of those who live in other countries is due to misuse of this vital power—a power whose energy is so essentially creative and which can bring as its reward mental and spiritual well-being of the highest order. Our educational system must face its responsibility for education in total health; it has the vital task of leading future citizens towards maturity.

AGRICULTURE IN THE POST-WAR EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT II

Margaret Digby

Secretary of the Horace Plunkett Foundation

[The first instalment of this article appeared in 'Fabian Quarterly' No. 33, Spring 1942.]

Any attempt to overcome the difficulties of the agricultural situation and to find a solution on the lines already indicated in the previous *Quarterly* will require the co-operation of three parties, coupled with their willingness to make concessions, if not sacrifices. These parties are the European countries themselves, Great Britain and the overseas countries.

EUROPE

European agriculture is the immediate beneficiary of the proposed reorganisation, but the patient must contribute to his own recovery. That contribution will demand, before positive action, the modification of two attitudes.

1 Abandon National Autarchy

This means primarily an agreement to lower tariffs and revise other restrictions in such a way that agricultural produce can flow with gradually increasing freedom to its natural industrial markets. It means that the more artificially fostered European products (cereals grown half way up the Alps, for example) will yield to the more economic overseas product. Such a change in national policy requires a greatly increased sense of military and political security and is involved with the international guarantee of frontiers. It means economic regrouping of territories so as to include a reasonable balance of industry and agriculture within each unit, and so provide immediate markets. If not a free trade world, at least a series of not too mutually exclusive *zollvereinen*. Such developments are already envisaged in the Czech-Polish and Greek-Yugoslav Declarations, and the discussion of wider East and Central European blocs. These are matters of high politics

and involve many considerations beside the economic. In the narrower field of tariffs, any modification will be fought by many sectional interests quite unaffected by theories of national policy. It should not be forgotten, however, that tariffs are not the whole story, since the state controlling trade—and a degree of state control of trade is likely to remain or increase—can find many means besides tariffs to check or diminish the flow of goods. Against this temptation the largest measure of co-operative control of trade, both marketing and distribution, is the best safeguard and is not inconsistent with a framework of national planning. It should also be remembered that as important or more important than a measure of free trade within the continent is an accommodation between the agricultural countries of Europe and the overseas continents. The European agricultural countries are not prepared, either politically or economically, to stand the strain of anything like complete free trade, and such a policy could only be initiated in a carefully planned form. The possibility of international agreement is the key, for to farmers everywhere stability is more important than high price.

2 Abandon the Principle of Supporting Large Populations Solely by Agriculture

This clumsy phrase is preferable to the emotional and ambiguous 'on the land'. This is largely a self-created problem of Western Europe, especially France and Germany. Its solution calls for the investment of more capital in (a) dispersed industry made possible by electricity and capable of absorbing, without displacing, the rural population, and (b) in refinancing and modernising agriculture, including in the process a redistribution of holdings sometimes in smaller but quite frequently in larger units, with a view to maximum efficiency. Such a move would come up against an immediate weight of inertia and prejudice, religious, military, pseudo-biological. It should, however, be becoming clear to even the most obscurantist that military power today depends not upon a sturdy peasantry but upon industrial potential. It is well known that the drift from the land has been accelerated by the Nazi regime in Germany and has continued in France during the last decade of high agricultural protection. The argument that autarchy maintains a large, healthy agricultural population is insincere. It should be realised that an agriculture, which can only just maintain itself with the maximum subsidy which industry can bear, will never compete with that industry in economic inducements or social amenities. Nor are impoverished and discontented peasants really a socially stable element. The

sociological evils of unremunerative agriculture and the sociological benefits of what may be called garden-city industry must be realised, as well as the fact that the changeover is proceeding inevitably and can be made smooth and efficient or hard and destructive, according to national policy.

3 Creating a Technically and Socially Efficient Agriculture

This is the positive goal displacing these two false ideals of autarchy and peasantry. A theoretically perfect agriculture is an illusion, the inconstant factors are too numerous, but the knowledge of agriculture has widened and deepened in recent years and there are few countries where serious students of the subject could not outline the type of agriculture which, given adequate diffusion of capital and knowledge, sound distribution of land and freedom to market the produce would not result in the maximum output of real wealth combined with the maintenance of a healthy rural society. Knowledge most countries will attempt with greater or less efficiency to place at their agriculturists' disposal. Capital cannot in all probability be furnished by Continental Europe alone. The scope for a redistribution of land is considerable in a few countries, notably Hungary and Spain, and in a few districts in other countries, such as Poland and Eastern Germany, where it would be locally very effective. Elsewhere it would do little substantial good. Collectivisation on the Russian model is not suited for widespread imitation in Europe. It is adapted to extensive cultivation on wide areas of uniform land where population density and technical skill are alike low. It would not raise the standard of living in densely populated regions where natural and human endowments point to intensive and varied cultivation as the means of prosperity. It would not suit the temper of the best of the European farming community, which is individual but cooperative, original and fundamentally democratic. The process of amalgamating holdings to form a reasonable unit and the abolition of the very small and frequently scattered holdings is, however, a highly desirable and by no means easy complement to the break up of the large estate. The whole matter of the efficient organisation of agriculture is bound up with the progress of the peasants' own organisations and their relation on the one hand to the agricultural, educational and experimental bodies, and on the other to state economic policies and organs. Co-operation, however, is so well-rooted in almost every European country that this development might perhaps be left to the spontaneous good sense of those concerned, if it were not that the

power of such organisations were apt to be underrated by British observers.

GREAT BRITAIN'S OBLIGATIONS

The contributions of Great Britain are the surrender of the rights, which are in themselves mutually contradictory, to buy agricultural produce in an uncontrolled market and to favour the British or Dominion at the expense of other agricultural producers. The opposition to control must be modified, at least as far as a few dominant commodities are concerned, and some sort of contractual or at least regulated buying admitted, designed to ensure the fair development of any reasonably efficient agriculture in any part of the world. This involves willingness to consider the agricultural interests of Europe with as much sympathy and sense of responsibility as those of the Dominions or of a country with large British investments like the Argentine. The International Sugar Agreement is a compromise between interests rather different from those here recommended for sympathy, but it shows that mutual accommodation and international order in agricultural marketing is not impossible. Any modification of freedom of purchase is repugnant to the industrial population of Great Britain, which still feels it should drive as hard a bargain for its food with the agricultural producer as the employer drove with his work-people when trade unions did not exist and wages were fixed by the law of supply and demand. Education is needed if the public is to understand that there may be practical as well as moral objections to using purchasing power with complete ruthlessness. It is not desirable that the agriculturist should force a high price, but it is generally accepted that a stable price for the major food-stuffs is more advantageous to the worker than a fluctuating price which occasionally touches very low levels. This should make it easier to accept a controlled price which allows the agriculturist to produce with reasonable security and efficiency.

In Great Britain the attempt, never carried so far as in continental countries, to maintain a subsidised agriculture began with a back-to-the-land policy but was reinforced by political pressure joined with a measure of military alarm. It can never go far while 40 million people live on 40,000 square miles and while the Commonwealth holds together, but if it is not to have an altogether disproportionately adverse effect on European agricultural recovery, some other policy will have to be substituted. It is suggested that this should take the form of national ownership and redistribution of land, tending to more efficient cultivation, and cheap capital for reclamation, development and equipment,

to enable the farmer to compete with overseas and European farmers on level terms without tariff defences. The general objects would be, firstly, to bring the land into a good state (and so capable of any modification of production required by the needs of peace or war), and, secondly, to tilt the balance in favour of dairying, poultry and a few other naturally suitable lines. In fact, the policy is fundamentally the same as that recommended for other countries. The wheat subsidy, though logically indefensible, has been politically and economically the least offensive of the attempted subsidies, and has certain merits, but any attempt artificially to maintain cereal production at wartime levels would be bad politics and economics, both nationally and internationally. Abandonment or severe limitation of the preferential treatment of British agriculture is repugnant to the British agriculturist. As, however, he knows that he can never be fully protected from the Dominions, he may be reconciled to a return to competition with the products of the Continent, especially if he can be compensated in other ways.

Both these changes in British policy will involve a parliamentary struggle. The use of British influence at the Peace Conference to secure reasonable economic units in the new Europe is less controversial to the home public. It means, however, that the agricultural aspect should be in the minds of our representatives and that they should not weary of the wrangling which will undoubtedly take place and prematurely force a settlement, or alternatively leave the continentals to fight it out among themselves.

British influence should and probably will be used to re-establish international monetary standards and abolish the monetary restraints which have in recent years impeded the movements of goods and capital. The benefits of greater British concern for the welfare of agricultural Europe need not be one-sided. The combination of a deplorably low standard of living with a rising standard of education and a progressive outlook make the peasant community of Europe one of the most promising markets for industrial goods and thus if nursed into prosperity a valuable insurance against unemployment in Britain.

OVERSEAS

If, as is generally desirable, and as the overseas countries themselves undoubtedly desire, the European countries so modify their tariffs as to admit a reasonable flow of overseas agricultural produce, the overseas countries must undertake that the flow does not become a ruinous flood. It is fairly clear that the overseas

countries have reached the point when they are willing to trade the right to unlimited production of the major agricultural commodities in return for an assured market and a stable price. Not merely long experience of bad markets but care for soil conservation, the needs of an increasingly industrial home population and revised ideas on dietetics are all working in the same direction. The assured market means one to which entry is relatively free. The United States in particular is likely to use its great political and financial power in the direction of free trade. It may even be ready to apply some of the sauce for the European goose to the domestic gander.

International Price Control

Something more complex than the mere manipulation of tariffs is probably required. Certain international agreements (i.e. sugar, already mentioned) aiming at such stabilised international trade and production have already operated with fair success. They should be extended to the key agricultural commodities. This would involve on the part of overseas countries a flexible scheme for the limitation of acreage and stocks, and for national export quotas, and, on the part of European countries, for the reduction of home production to economic levels, and the admission of the balance of consumption from overseas. These objects might be attained by manipulation of tariffs and quotas, leaving prices and acreage to find appropriate levels. They might only be achieved with the additional instruments of fixed prices and/or acreage.

Some form of world price determination over a period of years would give greater stability to the whole scheme. An international basis for such a price is not so easy to determine, since it must be fair to overseas exporters, European producers with small imports, and European importers with small production. An annual negotiated price might mean a recurrent struggle. Price fixing over a longer period might become rigid and burdensome to one party or another. The real struggle over price is likely to come, not between the overseas and European producers, both of whom would like a relatively high price, but between these two and the European importers with little home production. It is a question how far the maintenance of international control will involve national buying and selling organisations. Should the Soviet Union at any time resume its position as an exporter of agricultural produce on a large scale, its interests become those of an 'overseas country'. So far it is by the spectacle of a challenging technical experiment rather than by any direct economic

intervention that it contributes to agricultural development in the rest of Europe.

New Tariff Policy

Part of the contribution of the overseas Dominions and Colonies to a system of internationally planned production and marketing would be some modification of their preferential position in the British market. In so far as this was a sacrifice, it would be compensated by greater stability and enlarged markets elsewhere.

There must be reciprocal modification of overseas tariffs to admit European exports in order to provide European countries with the currency to pay for their imports and alternative occupation for those who have ceased to grow (for example) cereals on marginal land. The moral and political argument for a measure of reciprocity is fairly strong. If the United States in particular expects either to sell anything to, or recover any debts from Europe, it can only be by way of greater imports. As far as the agricultural countries are concerned there is, moreover, a class of agricultural products which have, in fact, always gone overseas in some measure and are often not directly competitive with overseas products—for example, French wines, Balkan tobacco and essential oils. Mediterranean olives and olive oil, Czech hops and brewing barley. Facilities for increased export of such goods would be the best help to the European and the overseas agriculturist. The problem of industrial exports is more difficult, though it does not concern the agricultural countries so much directly as indirectly through the European importers of agricultural produce, whose consent and prosperity is necessary to the success of any general scheme.

Planned Emigration

The overseas countries must be prepared for sufficient emigrants to relieve population pressure on the most congested areas in Europe. Such migration would require to be fairly heavily financed from one end or the other, and it would also meet with opposition on other than financial grounds from the countries of immigration. A lever for removing some of these objections might be a bargain by which the overseas countries admitted settlers and the European countries admitted agricultural goods. Great Britain is here the balancing factor, and much would depend on her ability to follow a large-minded policy undeterred by the clamourings of home agriculture. The Dominions may become aware of the danger of stationary populations in case of war. This danger has been present or some time in Australia and does not

seem to have made much impression. The fear of having to fight another *European* war if Europe is subject to continued population pressure might also play a part. But the appeal to fear is not very satisfactory, as it is the start of a train of thought already too familiar and generally disastrous in Europe. It is more encouraging to know that some at least in the Dominions have grasped the fact that rising population and rising prosperity go together and that increased industrialisation is mitigating the fear of the industrial immigrant and the immigrant without capital. It would be possible to deal with the freer movement of both goods and persons by a series of bilateral agreements. A multilateral agreement or agreements, perhaps negotiated through the International Labour Office, might be more difficult, but certainly would be more satisfactory. To some extent (2) and (3) are alternatives. An overseas country might prefer to be liberal as regards one or the other, but not both.

Capital Loans

Development of intensive agriculture and dispersed industry as suggested in the preceding section on the European contribution will need capital, which for many years after the war Europe itself will not be able to supply. This will it would seem be the task and opportunity of one overseas country alone, the United States. Much will depend on the evolution of a policy of wise and constructive lending. Such a policy might be and indeed should be carried out through an international body like the League of Nations, where it would have the moral, if not the financial support of Great Britain. The International Agricultural Mortgage Bank planned by the League in 1931 but never put into operation might serve as a model. Foreign loans are likely to be the most powerful means of directing internationally the character of reconstruction both agricultural and industrial, but when such loans, in so far as they are directed to agriculture, go beyond general utility (roads, reclamation) they would probably be more economic and more effective if coupled with contracts to purchase specific products, the cultivation of which they are designed to facilitate. This has been developed before and during the war by the German Government and suitable machinery exists in the war purchasing departments of the British Government. The German system was objectionable because directed to war and German aggrandisement, but, as already noted, it fulfilled a function and will leave a vacuum. It is to be hoped that similar machinery will be created or adapted in the immediate post-war period, and will be linked with international credits. Such agreements need not be

governmental in character. Loans on these lines, afterwards liquidated in goods delivered, were made after the last war by the British consumers' to the Russian and other agricultural co-operative organisations and were on the whole a success. The sooner co-operative sales by the peasants can be got going the better, both economically and morally. These and other international arrangements which may be practicable would have to be free of the forms of currency control which (among other things) made the German system oppressive.

GENERAL OUTLOOK

Certain developments of policy do not depend on any one group of countries. Probabilities and the experience of the last war suggest that there will be a post-war industrial boom, partly stimulated by finance, more legitimately to make good the numerous wartime shortages. Such a boom can rise quickly to great heights and as quickly exhaust itself. Agriculture can only produce in a fixed and comparatively slow rhythm. It is to be hoped for general reasons, and particularly with a view to a steady agricultural-industrial balance of production, that this boom will be damped down by financial or rationing pressure and spread over as long a period as possible so that agriculture may keep pace and all parties be brought into a gradually mounting spiral of increased consumption. There are indications that the need for such a policy is realised.

If such is to be the aim of reconstruction, the artificial depression of an important part of European economy (as of the purchasing power of our late enemies by reparations) would be disastrous. A preferable approach would be to win our enemies with a plenty they have not known for years while finding markets for our agricultural friends. In return, the prosperous agriculturist would have no difficulty in increasing and diversifying his industrial wants. This also seems to be understood and has found a place in the Atlantic Declaration.

The breaking of many political and economic moulds by the war, however painful in itself, does give agriculturists and the agricultural countries a chance to rebuild their industry in conformity with modern knowledge and resources and so make a substantial contribution to raising the standard of human welfare, taking that term to include both the health of the individual and that welfare of the community which is guaranteed by an equitable political and social structure. If the chance is to be taken it cannot be by Europe or Britain alone, but must be by the British Commonwealth and the United States working in loyal co-operation with one another and with the liberated countries of Europe.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE CIVIL SERVICE

Ex-Civil Servant

There are abroad serious misgivings about the Civil Service. It is widely believed—and not only among those who are by heredity opponents of bureaucracy—that Civil Service ways and outlook are hampering the war effort. The critics say that Civil Servants are, by training and temperament, unwilling to take decisions, suspicious of innovation, too ready to ‘pass the buck’, too adherent to pre-war routines, aiming at 100% safety and accuracy, and generally unable to adjust themselves to the altered tempo required of public administration under wartime conditions. Defenders of the Service may well retort that the Civil Servant is what democratic control and Cabinet Government have made him. There is substance in this rejoinder, but the fact remains that any fundamental weaknesses in the central administrative machinery of the State constitute a menace, not only to the immediate war effort, but perhaps even more to the post-war effort, when the present stimuli to action will have ceased to operate. It is now widely accepted by members of all parties that post-war resettlement will involve the continuance, possibly indefinitely, of central direction and oversight of commerce and industry. This must place exacting administrative duties on the State, which means, in practice, the high command of the Civil Service. Is the higher Civil Service competent to undertake such duties?

It is not possible to talk about the Civil Service without knowing one or two fundamental facts about its organisation. Leaving aside specialist functions involving the employment of experts in the technical sense of the term, the work of the departments is classified in three main categories: clerical, executive, and administrative. While these classifications are not hard and fast, they correspond broadly with the organisation and grading of the work. The clerical officers are those who do the routine clerical work as that term would be understood in any large organisation; the executive officers are, to a large extent, concerned with the practical application of settled policy as reflected in legislation or otherwise; and finally, the administrative officers (the word ‘administrative’ in the Civil Service has a specialised sense) are those who are ‘concerned with the formation of policy,

with the co-ordination and improvement of government machinery, and with the general administration and control of the departments of the public service'. It is at once clear that the outlook and tempo of the Service are determined, within the Service itself, by the Administrative Class.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS

It is the members of this grade who, with the rarest exceptions, alone have the vital functions of advising and informing Ministers upon matters of policy. It is impossible to advise by stating facts. Facts have to be correlated and presented in relation to some kind of background, intellectual and social, if they are to have coherence and meaning. It follows that the quality and social outlook of the central administration must depend in considerable measure upon the type of man who enters the administrative class, the corps d'élite which really runs the Service. Before the war there were only about 1,200 of them, and of these only about 500 were sufficiently senior to have any effective contact with Ministers. They are recruited like their clerical and executive colleagues by means of an open written competitive examination, but, unlike them, their final marking is determined by an interview to which a large proportion of marks is assigned. With all the goodwill in the world, the young man of humble social origin who has worked his way through on scholarships to the University must be very adaptable and assimilative of 'higher' social environments not to be handicapped even at the age of 22 to 24 by such a test. The interview is a modern innovation introduced after the last war. Prior to 1914 success was determined solely on the marks obtained in the written examination. To this extent, therefore, selection was quite impersonal and, it could be said on paper, the Service was open to brains irrespective of class. It did not work out that way because in those days opportunities for educational advancement were not so widespread as they have since become and, so far as the Administrative Class was concerned, the syllabus was heavily weighted in favour of those who had concentrated upon classics. The preferential treatment given to a classical education meant that, in practice, the great bulk of the higher Civil Service was drawn from those whose parents could afford to send them to what are customarily termed the 'great' public schools and then on to Oxford and Cambridge, which Universities still account for the overwhelming majority of the successful candidates at the Administrative Class examination.

Thus, until very recent times, the intellectual atmosphere in the highest places was in the classical tradition. The suitability

of a classical education for future administrators has been ably defended by Laski in his *Parliamentary Government in England*. It is possible to argue, on the other hand, that a system of intellectual training which, however adequate in 1500, is now entirely divorced from the social environment, and which has placed men in positions of the highest responsibility without any proper appreciation of the nature of the scientific advances which are altering the very basis of our civilisation, may be a potent factor in that tradition of sluggishness in administration and of unwillingness to experiment, that feeling that things are best left as they are, which is undoubtedly characteristic of so many senior members of the administrative class.

PROS AND CONS

Before offering further critical comments it may be well to record a few things which are right about the Civil Service. For example, the system of appointment upon the results of written competitive examinations has purged the Service of the evils of patronage, although nothing can abolish the subtler forms of patronage based upon inherent prejudice, when it comes to promotion, in favour of persons of a given social origin. It is however a fact that, largely as a consequence of the scholarship system, boys and girls who started in the elementary schools have worked their way up and have entered the Service by the thousand, and that some of them have reached relatively high positions. This impersonal system of selection secures in normal times a flow of recruits well above the average standard of ability obtaining in analogous work in commerce and industry. Owing to the competitive method by which they have been selected, the rank and file of the Service are, broadly speaking, conscientious and efficient, though their admittedly easy conditions of service in peace time, e.g. office hours of 10 to 5 in Whitehall, and a scale of leave which has few counterparts outside, are perhaps not conducive to great intensity of effort in every case. This system of open competition has given us a Service as nearly incorruptible as human nature will permit; 'scandals' are extremely rare and, when they occur, are firmly and promptly dealt with.

Wasteful methods within the Service and 'red tape' are not so much the Service's contribution to civilisation as the system resulting from the demands imposed by meticulous parliamentary and financial control, including, in particular, that grossly abused weapon of democracy, the parliamentary question. So long as any M P can ask any question he wishes about the minutest details of administration, the departments are compelled to keep detailed

records of what they do, for which no justification can exist but the gratification of parliamentary and auditorial curiosity; and the records must be clerically accurate with all that this implies in checking and counterchecking, so that the departmental demi-god, known as 'the Minister', may never be let down. When government was simple and involved little intervention in the daily life of the subject, the parliamentary scrutiny of the details of administration was well enough. Nowadays, with the extension of social insurance and analogous schemes affecting practically every member of the working community, and with State intervention in every form of economic activity already in being and likely to continue, it is clear that the nature of public control through the parliamentary machine must be broadened so as to deal only with principles. Indeed, Civil Servants must on occasion be given the sacred right of making a mistake.

THEORY WITHOUT PRACTICE

But to return to the Administrative Class. The segregation of their duties to a special class is analogous to the recognition in Army administration of the principle of a General Staff. Broadly speaking, thinking and planning should be divorced from day to day administration involving execution of defined policy. But imagine an army which recruited its staff officers direct into the service and never gave them any actual experience with the units whose movements they were destined to direct. Imagine for one moment a general who had become a General Staff Officer on being commissioned and had never commanded or even seen a fighting unit in his life. Yet this is analogous to what takes place on the administrative side of the Civil Service. The young graduate, who has doubtless passed brilliantly at Oxford or Cambridge, enters the Service and for the first few years he is given files to play with. During this novitiate he learns to turn a pretty minute; he discovers some of the elements of filing and the proper technique for approaching a Minister according to his status in the Cabinet. He may learn all about factories, shall we say, by reading about them in the files and the blue books. Very rarely do the future administrative controllers get any experience in the field. They are deemed to know all about the job because it is all on the files, and what else can a man want but a complete dossier of papers? This watertightness of function, this failure to interchange executive officers and administrative officers, is one of the cardinal weaknesses of the Service. One reason that prevents the interchange is that the administrators are considerably better paid than the executives and interchange would therefore involve loss of caste.

Another serious weakness, not peculiar to the Administrative Class, is that once a man has been appointed or promoted to a grade, the fact that, in the upshot, he proves to be incapable of assuming the full responsibilities involved does not result in his being moved to a level of responsibility for which he is better suited: once an administrator, always an administrator; once an executive officer, always an executive officer. As there is also complete security of tenure, it is inevitable that passengers are carried sometimes in the highest places, to the great detriment of the efficiency and well-being of the Service. Demotion should be part of the technique of staff administration as much as promotion.

THE PENSIONS MILLSTONE

Security of tenure and a satisfactory pension at 60 without payment of contributions are among the major baits, apart from honours, which induce able men and women to enter the Civil Service in spite of the relatively low rewards for outstanding talent. Under the Civil Service superannuation system, in the event of a civil servant resigning from the Service voluntarily before the attainment of the minimum retiring age of 60, he has nothing to come. This fact, coupled with the almost invariable recruitment of new staff at the earliest age of entry, has meant that there is no interchange of staff between the Service and outside occupations. Such movement as has taken place has always been away from the Service by men who were so dissatisfied with the prospects of promotion or who were so conscious of frustration that they were prepared to make the sacrifice of accrued pension rights that was involved. The result is an atmosphere of cloistered seclusion from the rough and tumble of everyday life which accounts largely for the absence of a creative outlook and of forcefulness in administration in public affairs, of which there is such widespread complaint.

There should be some system of enabling the restless, the disgruntled, the ambitious, and the merely fed-up to leave the Civil Service and seek other means of self-expression without sacrificing the whole of their accrued pension rights which, in the case of a man in middle life, may be very substantial. The system in vogue at the Universities, and already applied to civil servants in research establishments, under which superannuation is provided on a contributory basis, the joint contributions being applied in the payment of life assurance premiums, might well be extended at any rate to the Administrative Class. Under this system, the individual who leaves the employment takes his policies with him

to his new job. Conversely, there should be a recognised practice of recruiting from outside the Service men and women of proved experience, irrespective of age, who would bring with them a supply of new ideas, but it will be interesting to note the reactions of the staff associations if any such suggestion became practical politics.

THE SOCIAL ATTITUDE

Perhaps, however, the greatest obstacle of all to an active, virile and creative Civil Service is the social attitude which found expression recently in a thought-provoking work on the higher Civil Service¹ by one who had been a senior member of the Administrative Class himself. The writer, Mr H. E. Dale, was very disturbed about the results of open competition. He tells us that, owing to the scholarship system, boys of middle class and lower middle class origin will work so hard that they 'will usually defeat the products of Eton and Harrow although the latter may be naturally quite as intelligent and, from some points of view, better educated'. He claims that those who work their way by scholarships to the Universities and thence into the Civil Service are so over-driven between the ages of 13 and 23 by the urgent necessity for winning scholarships and succeeding in examinations, that they are played out at 40 just when, in the Civil Service, their responsibilities grow. He argues that so far as there is a lack of creative energy in the Service it is really due to this pernicious practice of open competition, coupled with the scholarship system. Worse still, this irruption into the Service of persons drawn from strata below the upper middle class has disturbed what he delightfully terms the social homogeneity of the governing classes. Perfect ease and frankness of intercourse between permanent secretaries and their Ministers is more often obtained, he tells us, when a Conservative or National Government is in power. It is not encouraging to those who look to the Civil Service to guide post-war reconstruction to learn from Mr Dale that the higher Civil Service 'have seen too much of government to believe in the indefinite extension of its functions'. It is hard to believe that this revelation of the mind of a higher civil servant is typical of the Service as a whole, but it is a fact that the 'over fifties' in the Civil Service who naturally occupy the highest places were recruited prior to the last war when the classical tradition dominated the Administrative Class examination and nobody who

¹ *The Higher Civil Service of Great Britain*, by H E Dale. Oxford University Press, 1941.

studied modern subjects, particularly science, could be quite a gentleman. There is no simple remedy for a social outlook of this type other than a Russian purge of those who prove themselves to be out of sympathy with the spirit of the times. There is no need to be brutal about it ; they could be given their accrued pensions—provided the Superannuation Acts were suitably amended.

CHALLENGE OF THE WORK AHEAD

Socialists have a special interest in this problem of ensuring that the central administration, as personified by 'Whitehall', is both creative and efficient. The acceptance of the doctrine that the primary motive in society should be service rather than the pursuit of profits, involves an extension of State control and ownership in the sphere of productive enterprise. At one time the cry was for 'nationalisation', understood to mean direct administration by a department in or about Whitehall. Thus, that excellent study, published in 1916, entitled *A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport*, which was prepared in the Fabian Research Department, thought in terms of 'a State Railway Department' under a 'Minister for Railways'. In the intervening quarter of a century we have rediscovered the semi-autonomous public board as a means to public control and ownership, without the hampering restrictions which, it is significantly realised, attach to direct administration by a Government Department under the immediate surveillance of Parliament. But if the public board system were widely extended to productive industry heavy responsibilities of direction and coordination would still fall on the central government, i.e. the Whitehall Departments, if only to prevent overlapping and 'competition' between the several public boards. Clearly, whatever form public control and ownership may take in future, the Civil Service will be faced with administrative and economic problems of the first magnitude. Yet it seems the Service has failed to carry out effectively analogous functions of control and direction required by the conditions of total war. If this is so, the transition from a war economy to a peace economy, involving, it is widely accepted, large extensions of public ownership, may be impossible of realisation, not because society does not want it but because the machinery of government and, in particular, the persons who work it, are not adequate to the purpose.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A Review of Regional Government by 'Regionaliter,' Fabian Society, 6d.

A. Susan Lawrence

The reconstruction of local government is much talked about. This is no new thing; it is indeed a perennial subject of discussion, but the matter has a new urgency. The replanning of England is in everyone's mind, and we have no local machine that can do this job; about two thousand authorities with town planning powers are as bad or worse than none at all. Some of us have realised, too, that, unless before the end of the war we have reconstituted the local machine, the government of the day will be forced to set up an organisation something on the lines of the Assistance Board, and take town planning away from the localities. This in my view would be a major calamity. It is therefore important that we should have a scheme prepared.

The main faults of our present local government system seem to me the following: An extraordinary unevenness and patchiness in the performance of their duties; the cramping of the initiative of forward authorities; the faulty structure of the machine, with all its problems of boundaries and areas and powers; and finally, and connected with all these, the inequalities of the rating system.

The first two of these are very important, but comparatively easy to deal with.

We need to strengthen the power of the Minister so that he may ensure a reasonable *minimum* standard of performance, for that is his business. I propose, simply, for this that he shall have the power of withholding the Principal Exchequer Contribution when any of the statutory duties of an authority is not properly performed. This is for the backward authorities; it is even more important that the forward should go as far as their electors wish. I think our model should be the Labour Party's Bill of 1930, which, with certain restrictions and precautions, allowed the larger authorities 'to establish and carry on any business or undertaking in their areas having for its purpose either the acquisition of gain, or the promotion of commerce, art or science, or any business which might be lawfully carried on by a company'.

But, having thus cleared the ground and given the centre power to make all go a certain distance, and set the localities free to go as much further as they wish, we come to the far more controversial question, who are these authorities to be? 'Back to the Heptarchy' is the fashionable cry. The Fabian Society have just published a pamphlet in which the plan is very briefly this: The government has set up twelve regions for central administration; let us accept this expedient as a heaven-sent model for all time: let us have twelve elected regional councils. They are to deal with planning, the location of industry, siting of hospitals, secondary and technical schools, and other large-scale duties. But "it must be emphasised we are dealing with planning, and not with administration. There are many institutions which require to be planned on a regional basis, but which can better be administered by subregional authorities. The important aspects on which regional control is necessary will quite often be only location, design and standard of adequacy . . . the actual administration can be confided to subregional authorities." These, according to the plan, will be bodies corresponding roughly to Borough or County Councils, the existing county districts to be abolished. (I note in passing that the regional councils are to duplicate some of the essential duties of the Minister of Health—who will certainly also have his say on location changes and standard of efficiency.)

The objections to this plan are many and obvious. The writer will

certainly drop no tear on the extinction of the county districts and the merging of them into the Borough and the Council as the case may be. But why adopt slavishly the divisions of England which may have been found convenient for the decentralization of the central government? Do they correspond in the least with a real local unit? For such a unit it is necessary to have a certain community of local interest; and something which is felt to be a unity by the electors. For local patriotism is like national: it is a real driving force, though its exaggerations have led, in the sphere of local matters, to much unnecessary antagonism among neighbours; and no elector can feel any local attachment to a twelfth of England, or feel that he is part of a community.

Secondly, it is easy enough to say on paper that one authority is 'to plan' and another 'to administer'; but planning and administration cannot be so artificially divided. The minor authority who 'administers' is certain to have its own view as to 'plan'; we should have under this scheme the familiar friction and difficulties which occur now between the counties and the urban and rural district councils. These quarrels and difficulties have been in the past the curse of local government; and anyone who has considered the question cannot but be struck with the superior swiftness and consistency of Borough Council administration, where all powers are concentrated under one authority.

Finally, I think that what may be called the political difficulties would be insuperable. Extinguishing any local authority is difficult enough; but to abolish all the major powers of major authorities would unite a very formidable force against the new proposals.

A much better plan for a region is that suggested by the old Report of the South Wales Regional Committee of the Ministry of Health, 1921. After recommending a planning board for South Wales, they go on to consider the idea of a regional authority with wider powers:

'We think, therefore, that the setting up of a new Local Government Authority is worthy of careful consideration, say, somewhat on the lines of the London County Council. If such a Council were set up to administer the Region . . . in place of the existing County Councils, and if the present Urban and Rural Authorities were re-arranged, the *Regional Council might well administer over the whole region such matters as town planning, housing, education, traffic control, poor relief, hospitals, main drainage, bulk water supply, construction and improvement of main roads and bridges, and police.* The re-arranged Local Authorities would no doubt have certain powers in regard to such duties delegated to them, and, in addition, would attend to such matters as the construction and maintenance of local roads, street-cleaning and lighting, removal and disposal of house refuse, local drainage, baths and wash-houses, libraries, Food and Drug Acts, sanitary inspection, local recreation grounds, markets.'

Such a plan is free from a good many of the objections formerly urged. The 'region' is a natural division—and the electors would feel that South Wales is a real unit. There is not the fatal division between planning and administration as far as the major duties are concerned. The objection seems to me to be first of all that the dual system with all its possibilities of friction has been to some degree retained. I see nothing in this list of duties for the minor authorities which could not be administered successfully by local committees of the main body, on which the local members for the district would sit. I think with this modification the suggestions of the South Wales Regional Committee might well be our model for the greater part of England and Wales.

For there are not very many parts of England where proper planning, transport, etc., demand a very big area, nor a very large population. There are of course enormous aggregations of population—Greater London—the Manchester/Cheshire/Lancashire complex—Liverpool and its hinterland. If we add as possibilities an amalgamation of the 'Black Country' or a

greater Birmingham, I admit that for them there is a case to be made out for major and minor authorities. Where, for instance, a person lives in Woking and spends his working day in London, he has a real and quite separate interest in London transport, etc., and in his home circumstances. But it is quite wrong to apply mechanically to the whole of England what may be suitable for the very large towns. For instance, one of the Civil Defence regions includes Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, Bedford and Huntingdon. The inhabitants of any one of these have by no means the same sort of real common interest that binds the suburban dweller to the great central town. It is a wholly artificial unit and would be felt to be such.

I propose, therefore, that we should deal separately with the very large units, where there is a real common interest of a population running into millions. For these great concentrations are the exceptions and not the rule. The Royal Commission on the Location of Industry found that seven specified areas, including only about 27% of the area of Great Britain, had (in 1937) actually 79% of the whole population. There is a real danger of reformers devising a suitable machinery for them, and applying it mechanically to the whole of Great Britain.

I suggest, therefore, that for the remaining 70% of the area we should aim at a system of authorities, each clothed with full County Borough powers, complete and absolute masters within their territory, and that for this purpose a review of county boundaries, with the amalgamation of a few of the smaller counties, would give appropriate areas. Would such areas be large enough? I think they would if we remember that certain very large services such as gas, electricity and main roads ought to be nationalised.

Planning radiates outward from the towns, and the area to be planned varies with the size and importance of the towns. I submit that the areas would be large enough for elementary and secondary education, for police, for public health, except for the teaching and specialised hospitals, which must be considered as part of a National Health Service. They would not be large enough for water supply in bulk, nor probably for main drainage. But we have already an *ad hoc* river authority for the purpose of land drainage only; and a previous committee (the Water Power Resources Committee 1928) recommended that authorities covering the same area as the Catchment Boards and similarly constituted should be set up to deal with rivers and water supply generally. They did so on the same grounds, that each river is an entity determined solely by geographical conditions and the law of gravity; that a river must be dealt with from source to mouth and from watershed to watershed; and is obviously not a suitable unit for local government.

As to Finance, very many of the grosser inequalities of rate burdens would vanish with the proposed amalgamation of authorities. But, further, a separate Rate Equalisation Grant would become a practical possibility. This has not yet been so because of the multiplicities of authorities. But with not more than 200 a uniformity in valuation is comparatively easy. When this is once accomplished, a grant based on the product of a penny rate and adjusted so as to bring that product to the average of the county becomes possible. Local authorities would then, as it were, start fair. On the top of that should be a proportional grant. The Principal Exchequer Contribution is at present governed by the unbearable intricacies of 'the formula'. It works out not far from a proportional grant now, and could easily be turned into one. I think that an extension of the rating field is most desirable and that industrial undertakings should pay their fair share of the rate burden.

Some plan similar to that sketched above is nearer to existing conditions, is simpler and more efficient, and would be likely to receive far more popular support than the plan advocated in the Fabian pamphlet of maintaining the present twelve Civil Defence Regions.

NOTES ON BOOKS

SHALL OUR CHILDREN LIVE OR DIE ? by Victor Gollancz.
(Gollancz 2/6)

As an answer to Vansittart this sincere little book is too involved and too intellectual. Its impact on the simple, untrained mind will be negligible, and Vansittart's rhetoric will hold the field. Gollancz's method is to appeal for international socialism, and he gives excellent reason why that method can alone end the war cycle, but he neglects the psychological resistances which are bound to arise. J. A.

A THOUSAND SHALL FALL by Hans Habe (Harrop 10/6)

Habe, an Austrian refugee, joined the French Army. When his regiment went to the Front they went as a 'defeated mob' and yet there is little doubt that those refugee volunteers gave the Nazis more resistance than any other unit. He was captured, but was made official interpreter in his prison camp, a position which carried with it definite advantages. The tale of his escape never drags. A brilliant book, by a man who has assimilated his material. J. A.

THE STRATEGY OF FREEDOM by Harold J. Laski (Allen & Unwin 5/-)

An open letter to students, especially American. Professor Laski gives his personal view, as a British socialist, why we are fighting this war, and why we should fight it. Its interest is only historical because the Japanese persuaded most American students of the rightness of our present cause before the book was published. But there are still parts of the argument to which all Socialists will not subscribe, e.g. Laski's almost unquestioning faith in the integrity, open-mindedness and judgment of Churchill. J. A.

MEDICINE AND MANKIND by Arnold Sorsby (Faber & Faber 12/6)

'Medicine must take into account not only the internal structure of man, but also the outer world in which he is placed and his inter-actions with it.' This is the thesis of Dr. Sorsby's intensely stimulating discussion of the social functions of medicine. Laymen, unable to follow the more technical sections, will still find it of interest. J. S. C.

GUILTY GERMANS ? by Aubrey Douglas Smith (Gollancz 6/-)

Another anti-Vansittart blast from the Gollancz press. Still the right note has been struck. Practically everything in this book is unexceptionable, yet emotionally it will not rouse the same support for the defence as Black Record appears to have done for the attack. The author sometimes shows himself an amateur in the art of debate, e.g. in acquitting the German Government of war guilt in 1914 he lays stress on the much greater guilt of the Austrian Government, and becomes filled with indignation over the 'scoundrelly Berchtold'; yet formerly he has insisted that the Austrians are also Germans. J. A.

WHAT IT WILL BE LIKE by Sir Richard Acland (Gollancz 3/6)

Re-emphasises importance of the 'service-ethic' for operating the 'common-owned Britain', and discusses in popular terms other means needed for attainment of that end. Full popular description of operation of 'common ownership adjusted to the particular genius of the British people'.

MODERN INDIA AND THE WEST Edited by O'Malley (Oxford University Press 36/-)

What happened when East met West. Packed full of interest as any travel book for students of civilisation. Essays on different aspects

by leaders of British and Indian thought, drawn from academic circles. Heavy bias in favour of British imperial record on the old ground that it provided 'security'. Doubts caused by stagnant standard of living answered by plea that there were 'difficulties', mainly due to the failure of the Indian cultivator to respond 'correctly' to the application of Western ideas about land tenure. D. S.

PLAN FOR AFRICA by Dr Rita Hinden (Allen & Unwin 7/6)

This is an admirable report prepared by Dr Hinden for the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and every one who is concerned about the Dependent Empire and our future colonial policy should study it seriously. Dr Hinden is primarily concerned with economics, and in order to discover what our economic policy should be for our African colonies she first makes a detailed study of what it has been in two African colonies and of what its effect has been upon the economic and social conditions of the inhabitants. The two colonies selected by her for autopsy are Northern Rhodesia and the Gold Coast. The selection is a good one, for the Gold Coast is, from the native point of view, at the top of the tree and Northern Rhodesia is at the bottom. Also the Gold Coast is a colony which has been administered under what is known as the 'West African' system without the penetration of white settlers, whereas Northern Rhodesia, with its large-scale copper mining and the alienation of large areas of land to white settlers, is typical of the 'East African' system. What will surprise many people is that, as Dr Hinden's investigation conclusively shows, although the economic condition of the Gold Coast African is very much superior to that of the Rhodesian, it is still so bad and so precarious that our economic policy must be written down a failure. Dr Hinden believes the crux of the problem to be the provision of capital, and her 'plan' for providing it deserves serious consideration. L. W.

FAMINE OVER EUROPE by Roy Walker (Andrew Dakers 5/-)

Mr Walker, a Pacifist, has set out impartially the case for Controlled Food Relief. The careful manner in which he has set down his information merits the attention of all those who look to the cooperation of our conquered friends in the re-establishment of international relations. A. G. P.

I WANDER by A. Emil Davies (Watts 5/-)

A pleasant anecdotal book by the Society's Honorary Treasurer, who has packed any interstices in his public work with reading and travel. The author is a shrewd observer and a good raconteur. Recommended weekend reading. J. S. C.

PROBLEMS OF THE DANUBE BASIN by C. A. Macartney (Cambridge University Press 3/6)

Brilliantly written scholarly survey of the historical background of Danubian racial problems, and worth reading for the description of the Danube valley alone. Although too 'expert' to evaluate the real meaning of Fascism, and too remote from recent development to recognise the extent to which the Hungarian upper class links up with the Axis, the writer has attempted to treat the racial problems against a background of common environment which is an advance on the pure small nations approach. Rather disingenuous about Slovak and Croat nationalism under Hitler, but constructive and wise conclusions as to the economic future. D. W.

RUSSIAN GRAMMAR AND SELF-EDUCATOR by Louis Segal (Lund Humphries 7/6)

By its logical procedure, Dr Segal's book gives the learner cumulative confidence. The method by which exercises and declensions can be

checked is straightforward and lucid. The syntax is fused by a progressive and relevant vocabulary into an ordered unity so closely knit that the student finds himself propelled without demur into some of the simpler pages of Tolstoy; he is even given a lesson in translating poetry. This may not be Russian without tears, but it is Russian with a minimum of blood and sweat.

J. C. L.

THE PATH TO RECONSTRUCTION: an introduction to Albert Schweitzer's *Philosophy of Civilisation* by Mrs Charles E. B. Russell (A. & C. Black 3/6)

An extremely expensive book, which might, however, introduce readers to the intelligent and interesting works of its subject, whose views on life and philosophy, it seems, are well worth watching, as he gave up a career in order to test out his beliefs. The value of the book, therefore, is in its pretty full bibliography.

M. I. C.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE FUTURE by Donald Hughes (CUP Current Problems Series: No. 13 3/6)

An honest and disarming book. The author is a master at the Leys School, Cambridge; he wants Christianity restored in education and the Public Schools to take 40% free pupils. He has a rather sympathetic bee in his bonnet about the School Certificate and Shakespeare; otherwise he is a nice man in a tangle. Maybe he will get what he wants.

M. I. C.

BROADCASTING FOR DEMOCRACY by Otto Friedmann (Allen & Unwin 2/6)

Intelligent discussion of broadcast propaganda to Germany. Worth reading by all propagandists.

M. I. C.

